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ANCIENT ORIENTATION UNVEILED

IV

THE CULT OF THE NORTH¹

IN THE survey of the ancient world thus far the direction of cult and ceremonial has been southward and eastward. Egypt, China, Babylon, Persia, Etruria, and Rome have been found to be consistent upholders of southern orientation and the lucky left, contrary to hitherto commonly received opinion.²

In opposition to this scheme, which it has been my object to show as the primitive and dominant scheme of antiquity, there arose at some yet undetermined period a system of northern combined with eastern orientation which was adopted by a far smaller and less early group of peoples, mainly if not wholly belonging to the Aryan race. Because the Greeks belonged to this group, this form of orientation, with all its implications and consequences, gradually overshadowed the older and more general southern scheme in a world that became largely Hellenized.

The greatest elaboration of the northern scheme took place in Vedic and post-Vedic India, where the topography of ritual played a rôle of extraordinary prominence, at least equal to its place in the life of China and surpassing that which it took with

¹ *A.J.A.* XXI, pp. 55-76 (Introduction, Egypt, China, Babylonia and Assyria, Persia); pp. 187-201 (Etruria and Rome); pp. 313-336 (The Left as the place of honor in Roman and Christian art).

² Since writing my paper on Etruria and Rome I have come across a passage in Diodorus Siculus, III, 3, which shows the application of southern orientation to geography. In describing the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, he begins on the side of Egypt, starting on the coast line at Arsinoe. This western coast he calls the right-hand side of the sea, showing that in dividing the earth he faced south. It is a valuable confirmation of the passage in Livy, XXI, 31, which I quoted in the above paper, where Hannibal is described as turning to the left, meaning to the left side of the world. As he turned toward the Alps, coming up from the south, he turned toward his own *right*, so that this passage had hitherto seemed contradictory.

any other ancient people, for ritual struck the dominant note in India.

I shall first dispose of a few side issues¹ involved in the sect of the Mandaeans, the Jews, and the Hittites. It will also be best to say the little that needs to be said about Greek orientation, reserving for the close the great mass of material relating to India.

HITTITES

I do not know of any material on Hittite orientation. Still, since the inscription of Boghazkeui² has so definitely associated the Hittites of Cappadocia during the second millennium B.C. with the Aryans of India, through the gods Varuna, Indra, and Mithra, and the Twins (Nāsatyan = Aṣvins), it may be significant to note that in the famous early rock sculptures at Boghazkeui,³ which are carved on the faces of the great natural recess which was used as an out-of-door national sanctuary, the two processions of the gods of the pantheon, the male on the one side and the female on the other, after winding along the west and east sides respectively, meet on the northern face, of which each procession occupies a half. Consequently the worshippers in the sanctuary obviously faced the north, and it was mainly in the north that India placed the abode of the gods. While it would be rash to generalize from a single case, the indication would be valuable, if confirmed, because of its bearing on the question as to whether the Aryans did or did not take the northern orientation with them when they descended into India. The fact that the Persians followed the southern scheme would point to the adoption of the

¹ I am not prepared to venture any statement as to the Celtic and other northern tribes. I am inclined to attribute to the Celts and Gauls a northern orientation. Evidence favoring this view is given by a passage in Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII, 25: *in adorando dextram ad osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in laevom fecisse Galliae religiosius credunt.* This turning around in prayer from right to left is the logical outcome of a northern orientation. Athenaeus (IV, 36) quotes Posidonius, who describes a banquet of the warriors of the Celtae, sitting in a circle and drinking out of a large loving cup that is passed around the circle *ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ*, which is usually understood to mean "beginning on the right," which would be from right to left: but Plutarch, *Camillus*, 5, 7, says that the Roman custom is to drink this way, *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ!*

² Winckler, in *Mitt. Or. Ges.* XXXV, 1907, pp. 1 ff; Williams, in *Ann. Arch. Anth.* IV, 1911.

³ A convenient description and plan are in Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*.

northern scheme after and not before the invasion of India. Hittite evidence may some day clear up the question.

It may be noted that the lower temple (of Teshub?), excavated by Winckler at Boghazkeui, opens at the south and has the base for the cult statue at the north end of the inner shrine, so agreeing with the procession's orientation.¹

I would like to qualify what I said in my first paper of the lack of traces of orientation toward the east in Persia. I meant to confine this to ritual practices. There are, in fact, clear traces in the language of the eastern orientation for the earth surface, as one would expect. The Zend word *pouru* means both "in front" and also "east" (cf. Sanscr. *purva*); and the word *dashinā* "on the right" means also "south" (cf. Sanscr. *dakṣinā*).²

Jews

The recognized eastern orientation of the Jews,³ so well established in language, Bible texts, and apocrypha, is not supplemented by any salient data as to a northern or a southern preference. The boxing of the compass from left to right, ending in the north, has no significance, as both groups used it.

The word for east, *qēdem*, means "in front"; *achor*, "west," means "behind"; *yamīn*, "south," means "right"; *smōl*, "north," means "left." Eden is in the east, and luck is associated with the right and misfortune with the left.

But there are some curious associations with the north. Jehovah seems to be thought of in several books of the Old Testament as residing in the north or over the north. In Isaiah Lucifer plans to ascend to the divine mount of assembly on the extreme sides of the north (XIV, 13). It is there that in Psalm XLVIII, 1-3, Mt. Zion, the divine mountain, is placed. In Job XXXVII, 22, the golden light comes out of the north encircling God with a wonderful splendor. It is also from the north that Ezechiel, I, 4, in his wonderful vision, makes the Lord appear in the whirlwind and the cloud of fire, riding on the four living creatures.⁴

¹ Puchstein, *Bauwerke von Boghaz-Köi*, Leipzig, 1912.

² Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 254

³ The Tabernacle is oriented eastward (Exodus, XXXVI-XXXVIII: Numbers, XXXIV, 3-12). In camping the place of honor on the east is given to Judah (Numbers II, 3 sqq.).

⁴ There are certain contradictions that may point to an earlier system than the eastern orientation. For instance, the word *yām*, from the same root as *yamīn*, "the south," is used with the meaning of *west*, e.g. the west wind, the

There are, however, some indications that in popular post-biblical, Jewish tradition, as represented, for instance, in the *Midrashim*, a positive influence for evil was attributed to the north in very much the same way as in Persia.

The *Pirkê*, or Sayings of Rabbi Eleazer, contain the following: "There are four cardinal points in the world. The north point God created but left unfinished; for, said He, 'Whoever claims to be God let him come and finish this corner which I have left, and thus all will know that he is God.' This unfinished corner is the dwelling place of the harmful demons, ghosts, devils and storms."

This association of the north with Hell and devils as well as with Paradise can be traced in a number of the Jewish apocrypha, especially in the group which centers around that extraordinary piece of religious fancy, the Book of Enoch.¹

However, in the absence of decisive material all that can be said is that the east so dominated Jewish orientation that north and south were considered of no consequence.

MANDAEANS

The only surviving Gnostic sect, the small remnant of Chaldaeans variously termed Mandaean, Nasorean, Sabian, or Christians of St. John,² must be counted among the most pronounced and single-minded northerners in orientation.

west side, which would denote a primitive southern orientation. It is so used in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. This would agree with the fact that in later tradition as represented by Isaiah and Ezechiel *yām* is used of the *Eastern* or Dead Sea. Another anomaly is that another word for "north," *zappōn*, which is used of the region of the dwelling of Jehovah, as I have said, while it developed associations with darkness, is originally associated with light, in a way that smacks of the Mandaean and Vedic India!

¹The Book of Enoch (ed. Charles), ch. 77^a, places a paradise in the north, as well as the Garden of Eden in the east (ch. 32). In the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (ed. Morfell and Charles), the place of the damned is in the north, in the third heaven. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I, 12.

²There are excellent summaries under 'Nasoraean' in Vol. X of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*; under 'Mandaean' in the *Encycl. Britt.* and in Hastings' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; under 'Mandäer' in the *Realencyk. f. protest. Theologie* (1903); and by Babelon under 'Les Mandaïtes' in *Ann. de Philos. Chr.* 1881. A fuller treatment is given by Brandt in *Die Mandäische Religion* (1889) and in 'Das Schicksal der Seele nach dem Tode, etc.,' in *Jahrb. d. Prot. Theol.* 1892. Good collections are '*Textes Mandäïtes*' by De Morgan in *Miss. Scientifique en Perse*, V, and Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften* (1893). Euting has edited the *Qolasta* and the ritualistic treatise, *Diwan*. I read the Sidra Rabba in the edition and translation of Norberg, which is not accurate.

Their religion is of Babylonian origin, with a strong Jewish infusion, and is best set forth in the Sidra Rabba, their Great Book, called also Genza, "Treasure," and also falsely termed the Book of Adam.

Their doctrine of the Light King, whom they worship as the greatest embodiment of divinity, is bound up in orientation, for he is represented by the Pole Star. There seems to be no provision whatever for an eastern orientation in their cult. Prayer is exclusively northward, because the gate of the world of light, the door of Abathur, is in the north, over the Mountain of Turquoises where the abode of the blest is situated. "The King of Light sits in the far north in might and glory." To quote an excellent summary: "The Pole Star is the central sun around whom all the heavenly bodies move. Wearing a jewelled crown he stands before Abathur's door at the gate of the world of light; the Mandaean accordingly invariably pray with their faces turned northward. . . . The earth is conceived as a round disk sloping toward the south, surrounded on three sides by the sea, but on the north by a high mountain of turquoises; behind this is the abode of the blest."¹ After reading through the Sidra Rabba I can supplement the above in several points that are valuable for the present discussion.

In the first place, the abode of demons and the hell where the wicked go, are in the south. There is the Mountain of Darkness (the opposite of the Mountain of Turquoises in the north) and there is the Southern Sea of dark waters into which the wicked sink. The south is the lower part of the world, as the north is the higher. The dark and evil waters of death of the low south are opposed to the pure, high, water of life and light of the northern heaven. This water proceeds from under the Throne of God which is visible, while He is invisible. It is the divine Jordan.

The source of Eternal Light and of the Water of Life is a place in the extreme north, beyond and outside this terrestrial globe. From it there goes out splendor to the sun, whiteness to the moon, luminosity to the stars, clearness to the fire. From there comes the northern air, the pleasant breath, the King from whom all winds and all living things have breath, and without which they would die.

In the absence of any eastern orientation there is an interesting analogy to Persia. But, in view of the polemical character

¹ From the article 'Mandaean' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

of the Mandaean doctrines and the fact that the eastern sun worship in various forms,—including Persian, Jewish, and Roman,—was their main opponent at the time of the formation of the sect, we may find in this the reason for an eastern taboo.

The small houses of worship of the Mandaeans all have two windows and a single door opening in the centre of the south end of the hall, so that whoever enters faces the north and the Pole Star.

In burial the bodies are placed with the head to the south so that they face the north. It is perhaps symbolic that of the two parts into which the *Sidra Rabba* is divided the right part is for the living and the left part is for the dead.

In connection with the supreme place here given to the Pole Star as the original pre-mundane source of light and life and the fixed point around which all things move and from which they have their being, I shall speak later of an analogous early cult of the Pole Star in India, to which no attention has been paid and which I believe of extreme importance and early date.

GREECE

It is such a commonplace that the Greeks practised the northern orientation and believed in the lucky right and the unlucky left that no time need be lost in discussing it. It was firmly established in Homeric times, and the classic passage, so often quoted, is *Il. XII, 237 ff.*

Τύνη δ'οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερόγεσσι κελεύεις
 πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὔτι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἔωσι πρὸς ἥῳ τ' ἡέλιόν τε
 εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοίγε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡέροεντα.

The Trojans were held back from the fight by an omen (eagle with serpent in its talons) appearing on the left (*i.e.* west) side, which was therefore considered unfavorable (*v. 202 sqq.*). But Hector tries to override this as an idle superstition and says that it makes no difference to him whether a bird appears on the right hand, toward the rising sun, or on the left hand toward the setting sun. Later, in Book XIII, when the Greeks shout with joy as an eagle flies to the right of Ajax, Hector again derides the omen. But Priam was a firm believer in the efficacy of the right hand omen of the eagle of Zeus, as is shown in the dramatic episode of Book XXIV, in preparation for his visit to Achilles.

The same point of view appears in the *Odyssey* where two

eagles, or again one eagle, sent by Zeus, appearing to the right of Telemachus are lucky (II, 146; XV, 160); and the same was the case with a hawk sent by Apollo (XV, 525). It is also in the *Odyssey* (e.g. III, 295) that the word for "left," *σκαίος*, is used in the sense of "western."

Whether this northern orientation and the association of left with ill-luck were a part of primitive Greek ideas and can be attributed to the Minoan Age, has not been proved. In treating of Indian orientation it will be necessary to refer to a primitive stage where the opposite view may have prevailed. The same may be argued of the Greeks, if any argument can be based on the fact that more than one synonym of "left" has the meaning of lucky, e.g. *εὐώνυμος*. That *ἀριστερός*, "left," before it came to mean unlucky, had originally the opposite meaning has been considered almost certain.¹ In discussing this question Schrader² is obliged to violate the obvious, deny the connection with *ἀρεῶν*, *ἄριστος*, *ἀραρίσκω*, *ἀρέσκω*, and seek etymological refuge in "prayer," *ἀρά* and its cognates, in order to explain away the original lucky meaning of *ἀριστερός*.

I owe to Prof. H. H. Bender the tempting suggestion that there may be a possible relation between *ἀριστερός*, "left," *ἄριστος*, "best" (neuter *ἄριστον*), and *ἄριστον*, "the sunrise meal." This etymology implies the idea of left = east = lucky, and consequently the southern orientation. In the meaning of the "sunrise" meal, the "best" meal, it is already in use in Homer and so is considerably older. The only difficulty in this equation lies in the quantity of the initial vowel. The fact that in later, post-Homeric, times the word was used of the noon or main meal, instead of the early meal or breakfast, favors the association of the idea of "best" with the meal, and at the same time indicates that a change of orientation was coincident with the change in the use of the word.

The question of race would enter, as well as that of age, as a complicating element. There is, perhaps, an echo of a primitive general difference in orientation between Dorians and Ionians in the different position given to the dead. K. O. Müller³ had

¹ The derivation is accepted by Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II², 1, 329, who refers to Schrader, *Reallex. d. indogerman. Alterthumskunde* (1901), 663 f. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. H. H. Bender.

² *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, p. 255.

³ *Dorians*, I, 288; II, 398 and references. The instances he gives are the Athenians as representing the Ionian and the Megarians as representing the Dorian custom.

noted, long ago, the fact that the Dorians laid the bodies of their dead so that the head was turned toward the east, whereas the Ionians laid theirs with the heads westward.

These moot questions, however, do not affect the orientation of the historic age.

The first thing that will occur, I think, to a Greek scholar is the lack of literary references to the use of orientation in the religious, civil, or private affairs of Greek life.

The Greeks had nothing corresponding to the Roman *templum*; nothing corresponding to the sixteen quarters of the Etruscan heaven for divination by thunder and lightning; nothing like the Babylonian star, or liver, or oil divination with their elaborate orientation; nothing like the Chinese or Indian ceremonial orientation in house, palace, temple, altar, etc.

In fact the Greeks appear to have confined themselves to dividing the heavens into two halves, a right (eastern) and a left (western) half, and to have confined even this simple form of observation of direction and location to certain few religious matters, without allowing such practises to invade civic and private life. There is only one field in which one might find interesting phenomena; and that is in their theory of motion.

This theory of motion,—whether, that is, it should be from left to right or from right to left—is dependent on their orientation ceremonial for the dead. This, again, has an interesting connection with the orientation of the land of the Hyperboreans and this, on its side, with the theory of the point of contact between the gods and mankind. This group of data is, to my mind, the most interesting in the otherwise rather simple field of Greek orientation.

But before studying these data I would like to state what seem to be the philosophical and cosmic reasons assigned by the Greeks themselves for their adoption of northern orientation.

There are two texts that bear particularly on this point: one in Philo and another in Aristotle. Philo's statement is extremely brief and occurs in one of his queries and answers which may have served as models for Plutarch in his Greek and Roman questions. Philo asks:¹ "Why is God said to have planted Paradise towards the east, in Eden?" and he answers: "Because in the first place the motion of the world proceeds from the rising of the sun to its setting. And it first exists in that quarter from

¹ *Questions and Solutions*, §7.

which it is moved. Secondly, because that part of the world which is in the region of the east is called the right side; and that which is in the region of the west is called the left side of the world."

Cosmic motion, then, according to Philo, begins in the east, and therefore on the right, and proceeds westward, that is towards the left, which means, of course, a northern orientation. This appears to have been the Pythagorean theory. Aristotle objected to it as too limited in its scope and while agreeing to the law of right (east) to left (west) motion and to northern orientation, he added two other motions: that from above downward, and that from in front towards one. This he elaborated in *De Caelo* (περὶ οὐρανοῦ), II, 2, where he argues that the beginning of longitude is "the above" (τὸ ἄνω), the beginning of latitude is "the right" (τὸ δεξιόν), and the beginning of thickness is "the front" (τὸ πρόσθεν). All motion belongs to and starts in these categories. The motion of αὔξησις or growth is from above; *the motion towards place is from the right*; the motion for sense perception is from what is in front towards one's self. In the matter of priority Aristotle gives the preference to the motion from above, where motion originates. At the same time, so far as our own universe is concerned, he states that the right side of the world is that from which motion proceeds. The heavens have the above-down and also the right-left motions, but not the front-back motion of sense perception. To quote the most significant passage: "The right part of anything is that from which motion starts toward place. The beginning of the rotary motion of the heavens is therefore the rising of the stars in the east, so that this is the right side, while the region where they set is the left side." In other words, Aristotle's theory of motion in latitude is from right to left as we should expect in connection with a northern orientation.

Motion in the Monuments.—At this point a reference to the monuments will be in order. The question is: Do we find in works of Greek art any trace of this theory of right motion as proceeding from right to left? Do we find in Roman and Etruscan works the opposite rule of motion from left to right?

The first and most luminous test would be by an examination of works representing the sun-god in motion; the next would be by that of religious and civic processions.

There are two main ways of representing the sun: as a face or

bust, and as a figure in a chariot. Coördinates are what might be called sun-carriers or sun-spirits, either by themselves or carrying the sun-disk; also sun emblems such as the swastika, the cross, and the wheel.

We have seen the Egyptian sun-boat proceeding from left to right during the day and from right to left at night, and there are corresponding Babylonian sun-boats, so that there can be no question that a significance was attached to direction.

In Greek art there is a charming scene of Helios rising out of the sea at sunrise at the extreme right and proceeding to the left, preceded by Eos, the star-boys, and the vanishing Selene. It is on the Blacas vase in the British Museum (Fig. 1). Compare with this for Roman art the lovely relief on the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta (Fig. 2), with the sun



FIGURE 1.—HELIOS RISING FROM THE SEA: BLACAS VASE, BRITISH MUSEUM.

procession moving in the opposite direction, from left to right. These examples may be taken as typical of their respective arts and orientations.¹ In the second category, in the field of Greek art the head of the sun is beautifully figured on a Louvre crater (Fig. 3). The bust of Helios in a rayed disk has risen and is moving from right to left, acclaimed by admiring, dancing satyrs. In contrast to this Greek type is an Etruscan mirror (Fig. 4), where the sun-disk, with head facing to the right, hangs between Apollo and Dionysus, while two trees take the place of the boughs waved by, or encircling, the satyrs in the other scene.

This same difference of direction is observable in some pro-

¹ On a Louvre crater (*Annali*, 1852, F; Reinach, *Répert.* I, 291) Helios and Hemera rise from right to left in a quadriga from the night boat, guided by Phosphorus with two torches and accompanied by a singing and dancing Corybant. On a Ruvo vase (Gerhard, *Abh.* pl. 1-2; Reinach, I, 236) Phosphorus and Helios in a biga appear disconnectedly, both going right to left. Ruvo shows a mixed tradition, part Hellenic, part Italic, and on other Ruvo vases Helios is going from left to right, e.g. *Mon. Inst.* IV, pl. 16; Reinach, I, 125.

cessional scenes. In the Parthenon frieze, where the goal is the east end, occupied by the gods, the procession necessarily moves from left to right on the south side and from right to left on the north side. It was only along the west end that the artist was free to make the procession move in either way he chose. Which way did he choose? In so important a work as this; in so fundamental a religious national ceremony as this, the choice depended certainly not on an individual whim of the artist but on a ritual



FIGURE 2.—SOL ON THE BREASTPLATE OF THE STATUE OF AUGUSTUS
FROM PRIMA PORTA.

standard. The answer is that the procession moves from right to left, according to the Aristotelian formula.

Now, if we take a typical Roman processional frieze, what do we find? In every case the motion is from left to right.¹ This can be illustrated by a glance at the triumphal procession of Trajan on the Beneventum arch and the direction on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. At the same time it is impossible, in summing up, to do more than conclude: (1) that when a scene connected with the living moves from right to left, it is

¹ I can recall only one exception: a fragment of triumphal frieze in the Vatican (Amelung, II, 15, 88) dating from Domitian or Titus, and probably by the hand of one of the Greek artists in their employ, such as executed the exquisite Hellenic work of the forum of Nerva for Domitian. Of course there are cases where the demands of the position on the monument made it necessary to break the rule.

certainly Greek, because the Romans considered this motion unlucky; (2) that when it moves in the opposite direction it may be either Greek or Roman, because the Greeks followed no absolute rule in direction.

Now, in the case of ceremonies connected with the dead, the rule for the living, whatever it was, was reversed. If luck and life were connected by a people with motion from left to right, then it was motion from right to left that was connected with death and the after-life. This was an almost universal custom. It can be illustrated in a number of ways. At a funeral banquet the loving cup was passed in the opposite direction to that in which it moved at an ordinary repast. Some material of this sort is to be found in Athenaeus. He quotes (XI, 10) Critias as



FIGURE 3.—RAYED BUST OF HELIOS: CRATER, LOUVRE.

stating in his *Constitution of the Lacedemonians* that the inhabitants of Chios and Lesbos passed large wine cups around from left to right, and that the Athenians did the same with small cups. Anaxandrides is quoted as saying, when someone at a banquet proposed to pass the wine to the right, "What! to the right! That would be just as though this were a funeral!" This is explained later (X, 41) when Critias is quoted to the effect that the Spartan custom of passing the cup was the reverse of that of the Athenians and that at banquets they never passed it towards the right, but the reverse. This confirms Müller's idea that Dorians and Ionians had opposite orientations for the dead.¹

¹ F. B. Jevons in *Cl. R.* X, 1896, pp. 22-23, discusses the sun-wise motion as lucky and its opposite as unlucky and gives a different meaning to *ἐπιδέξια* from the one commonly followed. I also believe that the expressions *ἐπιδέξια*, *εὐδέξια*, *ἐπ' ἀπιστερά*, etc., have been radically misinterpreted, but as it would take considerable discussion, I am purposely avoiding the question in this paper.

Athenaeus also has an interesting passage illustrating the western orientation ordinarily used in ceremonies for the dead. He quotes (IX, 78) the *Exegeticus* of Clidemus under the caption 'Offerings to the Dead' as giving the following instructions: "Dig a trench to the west of the tomb, then look along the side of the trench towards the west. Then pour down water, saying these words, 'I pour this as a purifying water for you to whom it is right to pour it [*i.e.* to the departed], and who have a right

to expect it.' Then after that pour perfume." Athenaeus adds that the same instructions are given by Dorotheus.

It is, of course, a commonplace that the abode of the dead is in the west, and the consequent orientation is logically obvious, and need not be further dwelt upon.

This brings me to a few words as to the land of the Hyperboreans in so far as it is connected with a scheme of orientation. Certain points are clear: (1) That this blessed land was in

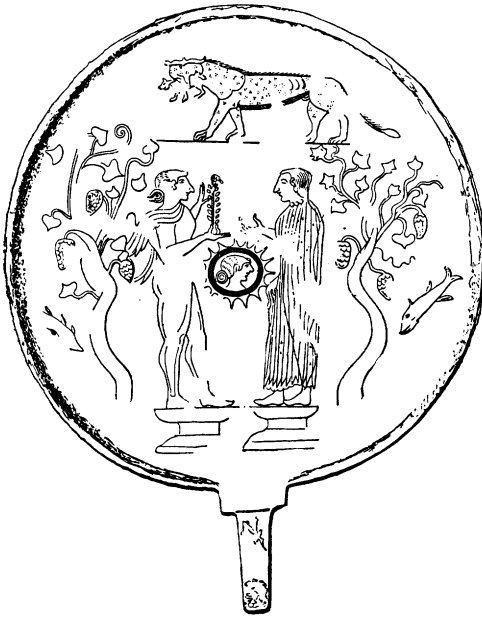


FIGURE 4.—HEAD OF HELIOS: ETRUSCAN MIRROR; GERHARD, 292.

the extreme north; (2) that it was beyond the limits of earthly conditions, yet part of this earth; (3) that it was the place where Apollo came to earth and began his mission to mankind; (4) that it was the dwelling-place of the blessed, endowed with quasi-immortality. The position of Apollo as the mediator and teacher of mankind, making known to them the will of the gods, makes it of extraordinary significance that when he left Olympus to take up his office as mediator in this world, he should first live for a while in the land of the Hyperboreans, and then proceed southward to found the shrines for his worship at Delos and

Delphi. The northward path was kept open, spiritually speaking, by those annual mystic embassies from the Hyperboreans bringing the first fruits of the year. As the world area known to the Greeks increased, they thrust the happy hunting-grounds farther and farther to the north, until they were placed beyond the Scythians and the mythical Arimaspi.¹ The gods came to earth, then, in the north, according to the Apolline tradition. So, when the Greeks wished to ascertain the will of the gods, it was logical that they should turn northward. The fixed and immovable northward direction for vision and the eastern direction for cult and to render thanks for the material blessings brought by the sun are self-evident consequences. We shall find them in India.

The orientation of Aristotle's universe and his three classes of direction correspond roughly to the cosmogony of the Apollo myth. First, motion from above downward in the north of the world (descent of Apollo from a mythical Olympus): second, motion for position combined with motion toward sense-perception, that is, perception of God by man.

INDIA

If the orientation question in ancient India is a difficult one, it is from a superabundance rather than a lack of material. One reason is that we have to do with a people not settled but in motion. There is a permanency in Egypt, China, and Babylon that insures greater unity and consecutive evolution than in India. The India of the Vedas, of the Brāhmaṇas, of the Grihya ritual, of the epic poems, is evolutionary and yet full of local complications and with few safe historic data. The only method for a layman like myself is to set forth the data without attempting an historical or critical sifting of differences and origins.

Fortunately certain general facts are undeniable:

(1) That orientation was a cardinal factor in every prominent and nearly every ordinary event of daily life in ancient India;

¹ The discussion of the Hyperborean question in Müller's *Dorians* is still interesting. The passage in Bacchylides (see Jebb, *Bacchylides*, III, 24-62) is especially valuable, where Apollo of the golden sword wafts King Croesus and his daughters to the Hyperboreans. The visit of Perseus and Athena with the head of the Gorgon to the Hyperboreans, spoken of in Pindar's twelfth Pythian ode, has also an important meaning in my interpretation of the Medusa myth.

(2) That the Indians not only had specific associations with the four main quarters but also with four intermediate quarters and to these added two other central orientation points, the zenith and the nadir; making in all ten directions;

(3) That in actual ceremonial the main impressive facts are that (a) the southern quarter is connected with the dead and the shades of one's ancestors, and (b) the eastern and northern quarters are associated with the gods and life with them and from them;

(4) That like many other races the Indians made the earth face eastward;

(5) That luck and preëminence were associated with the right side.

In regard to the question of the lucky right, it does not loom up with any particular importance, as will become evident on reading the following summary of orientation material. But Schrader¹ is undoubtedly correct in his general contention that the left was weak and unlucky and the right strong and lucky. He quotes important passages of the Rig-Veda hymns: "Cry, oh! bird, from the right of the house, and bring luck and betoken happiness" (II, 42). Also, in the same field of bird omens and divination; Rig-Veda, II, 43, "On the right sing the singers of praise, the birds, who speak in accordance with order."²

The question could be approached through a study either of the various classes of documentary evidence or through that of the main classes of ceremonies into which orientation enters. I shall concentrate on the two typical groups of ceremonies: (1) The principal public religious ceremony, the Great Soma Sacrifice of the Ārauta ritual; (2) the network of family cult ceremonies represented in the "House Books" of the Grihya ritual. Both are of extreme antiquity, some elements dating to Indo-Iranian times. While the Soma ritual was the earlier to take elaborate form, there are elements in the family ceremonies that are of even greater antiquity.

It is not easy to say in a sentence what the Soma sacrifice meant to the Hindu. Dr. Bloomfield's pithy statement³ is that the

¹ *Prehist. Antiq. of the Aryan Peoples*, pp. 254-5.

² I am inclined to believe that divination by birds fell into the background quite early in India, though the word for "bird," *ṣakunā* came to mean "omen," and the interpreter of omens is a *ṣakunikā*.

³ *The Religion of the Veda* (1908), p. 65.

Rig-Veda religion may be designated as a religion of Soma-practices. It corresponds exactly to the primitive Persian Haoma sacrifice, and is the highest and most sumptuous of Hindu religious ceremonies. Soma, materially, is the plant from whose pressed twigs comes the intoxicating sacred drink which gives supernatural powers to the partaker, so that it seems as if the god had entered into him. Soma becomes the god; his pressing the killing of the god. He becomes the moon, the food of the gods and the source of food, fertility, and wealth for mankind. He is the divine fecundating water, lord of vegetation and also god of light. In short by possessing Soma, man has all the gifts of the gods. The importance of the ceremony may be judged from the amount of the gifts from the householder who gives it to the officials who perform it: these gifts include from 100 to 1,000 cows.

Soma Sacrifice.—The simplest and earliest form of the Soma cult is expressed in the *Agniṣṭoma* liturgy, which has been so thoroughly digested in Caland's and Henry's monograph that this will be used here as the basis of Soma orientation, and consequently of the earliest and most authoritative form of early Vedic orientation.¹

The procession of those who are to take part in the solemn ceremony, which lasts from several days to as long as a whole year, starts in the direction of the *north*, with the prayer "Let the god go to the god, Soma to Soma, by the road of holiness." They then go to the house of the householder. There they face *south* saying three times: "the earth is the Manes." The next step is the selection of the site for the Soma sacrifice. The procession approaches it from the north or the east and on arrival the first step is the building of a hut, with four openings to the cardinal points. The fire-altar (*āhavanīya*) is established. South of it is the seat of the sacrificer, with his face to the north, and beside him the Brahman, also facing *north*, looking to the *āhavanīya* fire. In the consecration ceremony which follows the sacrificer is seated on a consecrated black antelope skin, facing *north*.

On the second day, preparations are made for the purchase of the Soma, including an enclosure for its preparation with a single entrance on the *north* side. Five introductory oblations are

¹ W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma. Description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique*, Paris, Leroux, 1906-1907.

offered, always toward the *north*. The Soma cow is brought to the hut on the north side, with her head turned northward, and after being prayed over is led seven steps northward. The seventh footprint is sacred. Then the merchant from whom the Soma is to be purchased is sought out. The Soma is placed on the black antelope skin in the consecrated chariot which moves first eastward, then southward, then westward, and finally in a *northerly* direction to the hut. King Soma arrives; is brought in at the *east* door, placed on a royal throne facing east, south of the *āhavanīya* fire. The Soma twigs are uncovered and made to swell with hot water while a litany is recited, facing *east*. Then comes an intermediary consecration with the usual orientation northward toward the *āhavanīya*. This ends the second day.

On the third day begins the laying out of the great consecrated area of the *mahāvedi* due *east* of the hut, with an elaborate group of liturgical units, including a second hut, a shed, several fire-centres, etc. The *mahāvedi* has a trapezoidal ground-plan supposed to represent the "cow of the gods." Its orientation is eastward; so is that of its hut, the *sadas*. But it is stated that in the ceremony of digging the four "holes of resonance," one for each quarter, they are marked out from right to left, in sunwise direction. This implies a northern orientation for the ceremony. The same is true of the consecrating ceremony of the *agnidhriya* shed at the north edge, where the consecrator is seated facing north.

At this point are introduced the preliminaries for the blood sacrifices. Then comes the great procession in honor of Agni and Soma, with the prayer that the gods would give the sacrificer a place in heaven. The procession leaves the hut by the *east* gate and then moves in a *northerly* direction to the *agnidhriya* shed, where the sacrificer sits on the south side facing *north* and makes the libation and offering northward. On the return of the procession to the hut and the *āhavanīya* fire, there occurs the continuation of the ceremony of blood sacrifice. The Soma is brought back through the west door and a litany is recited facing south. Here occurs a significant symbolic sentence addressed by the *hotar* priest, who recites, to the god Soma: "Behold, O Soma, thou as a god did'st go toward the gods (*i.e.* northward, to the *agnidhriya*); and now, I, as man have come towards men with posterity (*i.e.* to the Manes southward), with the

prosperity of riches." The *hotar* then turns around sunwise saying, with palm raised, "Homage to the gods," and then, with palm turned down, "*Swadha* to the Manes." The bloody sacrifice is then consummated.

The day ends with the getting of the night water and its rites. To get it some steps are first taken from the hut toward the *north*; the return is by the same way, entering by the east door.

The fifth day is the day of the Pressing of the Soma. The twigs are taken down from the chariot, to a libation and song facing north. This song is the famous morning litany, which one would expect would be, if any were, sung eastward to the rising sun. It is worth quoting, appearing as it does textually in one of the most important Vedic Upanishads, the *Chāndogya*: "Before the beginning of the matin-chant, the sacrificer, seated behind the household altar (*gārhapatya*) and *looking towards the north*, sings the *Sāman* addressed to the Vasus: 'Open the door of the world, let us see thee, that we may rule (on earth).' Then he sacrifices, saying: 'Adoration to Agni, who dwells on the earth, who dwells in the world. Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer! That is the world for the sacrificer. I shall go thither when this life is over. Take this! Cast back the bolt.'" Then the libation is poured out facing towards the *east*.

In the Upanishad text, this is followed by the ritual for the two other oblations. The noon-oblation is at the *agnidhriya* altar, addressed to the Rudras, with an invocation to *Vāyu* (air-god), and the claim of the air or middle world for the sacrificer. Then comes the evening oblation at the *āhavanīya* altar, addressed to the Adityas and *Viṣvedevās*, claiming the higher world of heaven for the sacrificer. In both these invocations the sacrificer faces the *north*, as in the morning chant, and the formulas are exactly alike. The three cover the possession by the sacrificer of the three worlds of the Hindus, earth, air, and heaven.

To return now to the Soma ritual in Caland, after the morning service. The *hotar* sings another *sāman*, facing north. Water is got. A libation is poured out to Indra to the *east*. Then comes first the measuring and afterwards the first pressing of the Soma; and then the procession from the *āhavanīya* to the *āstāva* (north of *vihāra*) in the northerly direction, with the chanting of a hymn "marching straight towards the gods." At the *āstāva* the Brahman is to the south, facing north.

The ritual continues, with the details of the various pressings

of the Soma, until the final ceremonies ending in the abandonment of the site. The orientation *scenario* is the same as in what I have described and need not be given. The northerly direction continues to dominate; in the moving of the Soma pot, filters, and beakers; in the moving of firebrands; in the visits to the various parts of the enclosure; in the reception of the gifts, etc. The easterly direction is mainly used for libations to the gods. A few general facts would seem to be suggested. The southern direction concerns the Manes. The northern direction is the permanent goal for worship, "marching straight towards the gods"; the direction for hymns to the gods; the direction of the spiritual side of the ritual. The east is the direction of libations poured out on the earth to the gods; it is the direction for the buildings and areas of cult; that of the material side of the ritual.

The Grihya-Sūtras.¹—These are the "House Books" of the Hindus. They represent the less spectacular side of the cult and a form of ritual that took shape in late Vedic times, after the public *grauta* ritual had been developed around the Soma cult. Their ritual takes in turn all the events in the domestic life of a Hindu, beginning with marriage and the establishment of the domestic sacrificial fire. Then the rites at the conception of a child, at various periods before his birth, at the time of his birth, the giving of a name, the feeding of him, the cutting of his hair, his investiture as a student of the Veda, and his relations to his teacher in sacred lore. This is a skeleton into which the greatest variety of details of family life is interwoven. It is amazing how many of these rites have an element of orientation. They contain elements perhaps of greater antiquity than the Soma cult, going back to Indo-Iranian tribal customs.

The favorite time for ceremonies is during the northern course of the sun, during the first half of the moon, and on even days. The months of the southern course, the decreasing moon, and the odd days are connected with the Fathers, the Manes. This, by the way, was the general usage in ancient India.

¹ The Grihya-Sūtras are translated in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXIX and XXX, with a scholarly introduction by H. Oldenberg. They go under different names: Çankhāyana, Aṣvalāyana, Pāraskara, Khādira, Gobhila, Hiranyakeçin, and Āpastamba and as they go over very much the same ground, they repeat and confirm each other. Several, such as Hiranyakeçin and Āpastamba, vary in treatment.

The best way to begin is with the marriage ceremony. The selection and wooing of the bride, the ceremony at her house, the treading on the stone, the circumambulation of the fire, the sacrifice of grain, the seven symbolic steps, the carrying of the bride to her new home, the worship of the polar star, the rites before and at the time of the consummation of the marriage, nearly all of them furnish data on orientation, of which I shall mention only the more significant.

When the girl's father has accepted the bridegroom the latter offers up a sacrifice of thanks, with libations of butter,—facing the south or southeast if they are to the Manes and the northeast if they are to the Gods,—on a site often strewn with sacred grasses pointed east and north. The pot with the offering he carries north from the fire and uses strainers pointed north. The oblation is divided into two portions: the southern to Soma and the northern to Agni. The pair stand on north-pointed grass in the preliminary ceremonies. After the marriage a water-pot is filled with *Stheya* water and placed northeast of the fire. The bridegroom leads the bride around it with their right sides towards it. He then makes her tread with her right foot on a stone placed north of the fire and leads her around the fire sunwise in the same way. Then she takes the seven mystic steps of Vishnu toward the north or east or northeast, each with a special invocation, putting the right foot first. After this the bridegroom takes her to his house, carrying with him their future household fire—the *Grihya* fire. In the house they sit in silence facing east or north, until the sun has set and the stars come out.

What then happens seems to me of special significance, though I have not seen any stress laid upon it. It is the adoration of the Pole Star. The bridegroom takes the bride out of doors towards north or east and they worship the four quarters of the sky, the stars, the moon, the seven stars of Ursa major, the star Arundhati, and as a climax the Pole Star. In fact in some texts only the Pole Star is mentioned. They ask it for offspring and prosperity. He addresses it with a chant:

Firm dwelling, firm origin. The firm one art thou. . . . Thou art the pillar of the stars. Adoration be to the Brahman, to the firm, immovable one! Adoration be to the Brahman's son, Prajāpati! Adoration to the thirty three gods! Adoration to the Brahman's children and grandchildren, to the Angiras. Those who know thee (the Polar Star) as the firm, immovable Brahman, with its children and with its grandchildren, with such a man

children and grandchildren will firmly dwell, servants and pupils, garments and woolen blankets, bronze and gold, wives and kings, food, safety, long life, glory, renown, splendour, strength, holy lustre, and the enjoyment of food. May all these things firmly and immovably dwell with me." (Then follow the Mantras) "I know thee as the firm Brahman. May I become firm in this world. I know thee as the immovable Brahman, etc. . . . as the unshaken Brahman . . . as the unfalling Brahman . . . as the nave of the universe . . . as the centre of the universe . . . as the string that holds the universe . . . as the pillar of the universe . . . as the navel of the universe."¹

This litany of the Pole Star could almost word for word have been recited by a Mandaean. It shows the same primitive belief in the North Star as the one stable, firm element in the universe, around which everything revolves; the unchanging eternal light, source of the sun, moon, and stars. The association with Brahman suggests that it was thought best by the priests to incorporate in their theological system this primitive popular belief. Might this not also suggest a basis for the primitive Hindu northern orientation?

Returning now to the Grihya-rituals, subsequent to marriage, they show throughout the same system: position and motion north and east except for the dead, for whom everything was exactly reversed. In the ceremonies of washing the child and of giving it a name, the child is always handed toward the north. In the tonsure of the child's head they face east and begin on the right. In the initiation of the student, the orientation is east for the teacher, but the position is north of the fire.

*The Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*² Of the big ritualistic works that resulted from the elaboration of Brahmanic ceremonial as Vedic religion developed into a priestly system the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the most extensive among those available for study. It is the great Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajur-Veda series, as distinguished from the Black Yajur-Veda, and admits material of various dates, but mostly earlier than the Upanishads. It combines ritual with symbolic teaching and is full of orientation, both theoretical and practical. There are offerings not only to all four main quarters, but to all ten quarters and sub-quarters with zenith and nadir, always with the respective orientations.³

¹ Hiraṇyakeçin, I, 6, 14 in *S.B.E.* XXX, p. 194.

² The *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is translated in *S.B.E.* Vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, and XLIV.

³ *E.g.* in *S.B.E.* XLI, 48.

The east is, as always, the front of this world. The gate of heaven is in the north,¹ yet the north is repeatedly said to be the quarter of men, and the east the quarter of the gods.² The intermediate northeast quarter is said to be the perfect place because here the two worlds come together.³ The apparently contradictory statement is made that the left, north quarter is heaven and the "world of the gods"⁴ and the sacrificer is warned not to seat himself eastward but northward because otherwise he would never rise from the earth. The fact that the world of the gods is in the north is so explicitly and frequently stated that we are obliged to differentiate between the mundane north of men and the supermundane north of the gods.

There are many interesting details. In the sacrifice of that supreme among all victims, the horse, he is set free towards the northeast, as the region of gods and men; the participant in the Soma sacrifice, in getting out of his bath of purification, must walk northward; the plowers and builders of a sepulchral mound must orient all their work in exactly the opposite way to what they do for the living and the gods. The Soma sacrifice, and especially the construction of the great fire-altar occupy a large part of the work, but in later form than the more primitive ceremonial in Caland's study.⁵

One statement, however, I shall quote, at the risk of some repetition. It is in connection with the *Dīkṣā* or initiation rites at the building of the fire-altar, and in particular at the moment when the sacrificer puts the sacrificial fire-pan on the fire. "The fire-pan is these worlds . . . [and he does it] 2. standing (with his face) towards northeast, for standing towards northeast Prajāpati created creatures. 3. And, again, why (he does so) standing towards northeast;—that (quarter), the northeast, is the quarter of both gods and men. 4. And, again, why standing towards northeast,—in that quarter is the gate of the world of

¹ *E.g.* in *S.B.E.* XLIV, 82.

² *E.g.* in *S.B.E.* XXVI, 1-4; XLIV, 485.

³ *E.g.* in *S.B.E.* XLIII, 227; XLIV, 359.

⁴ *S.B.E.* XLIV, 225.

⁵ A good typical statement is in XII, 7, 3, 7 (*S.B.E.* XLIV, 225) where the setting up of the *Vedis* (or fire-altar grounds) is described in the Santramani ceremony. In connection with there being two *Vedis*, one to the north and one to the south of the central *āhavanīya* fire: " 'Two worlds in truth there are,' they say, 'the world of the gods and the world of the Fathers.' One of the *Vedis* is for offerings to the gods and the other for those to the Fathers."

heaven, hence it is standing with his face towards northeast that one offers libations, and standing towards northeast that one leads up the *dakṣiṇās*; it is by the gate that he thus makes him enter into the world of heaven.”¹

When there is an apparent contradiction: that is when in one text the orientation is given as north and in another, for the same act, it is given as northeast, I should be inclined to accept the explanation offered by one passage which gives the direction as north *inclining toward* the east, which would probably mean closer to north than due northeast.

Another enlightening chapter is that describing the building with bricks of the circular *Gārhapatya* fire-place or hearth, which represents in Vedic cult the domestic fire of the sacrificer and symbolizes this earth. The method of laying each single brick, the relative position of each one, and the orientation of the person as he lays each one are minutely described, and the important point is that, while the hearth is supposed to face eastward and to symbolize a bird, the person laying the bricks (the *adhvaryu* priest) never faces east but always north except when he once faces the south, and he begins by laying the four central bricks at the north end coming south.²

Then comes the building of the *āhavanīya* or main altar, symbolizing the sky, which also faces east. In the course of explaining it as the womb or birthplace of the gods, it is said: “There are two wombs (birthplaces)—the one being the womb of the gods, the other the womb of men; the gods have their birthplace in the east, and men in the west; and when he lays down those (bricks) in front [*i.e.* eastward], he thereby causes the sacrificer to be born from the womb of the gods.”³

The Upanishads.—The philosophy, cosmogony, and symbolism of Vedic India are enshrined in those wonderful prose poems, the Upanishads. Their references to orientation are necessarily few, but they give the *raison d'être*, the clue that we need.

We find, as we should expect, the eastern orientation for this world, with the north as the left and the south the right. We find the northern path that of the gods, of the sun, and the spirit, and the southern that of the Fathers, of the moon, and of matter. But the moon is the place to which all go for a time after they

¹ *Ibid.* XLI, 246.

² *Ibid.* XLI, 298 sqq.

³ *Ibid.* XLI, 389.

leave this world. Those who are to return to this world, go by way of the Fathers to the dark half of the moon, and those who are on their way to permanent union with Brahman go through the light half of the moon.

What is especially illuminating is the rôle in the life beyond played by Āditya, the Sun. He is lord of the eastern quarter, and yet those who seek him gain him by the northern path.¹ It is in the north that they burst open the solar door and pass through to heaven, to the world of Brahman.² Perhaps a clue is given by a passage which says that Āditya, the Sun, when he rises, goes to the east, and thus receives at the outset the eastern spirits into his rays.³ There is a tendency towards eastern and away from northern orientation in certain ceremonies, which is in harmony with the comparatively late date of the Upanishads, but the fundamental nature of the north in cult is still evident. It is said that sacrifice should be inclined toward the north in the correct way, when the Brahman understands what is right.⁴ Yet the eastern orientation is advocated in another passage, "for in the east the seed of the gods springs up."⁵

The Epics.—While the actual text of the great epics—the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana—is comparatively late, they conserve many early concepts and traditions. The material can be studied in Hopkins, *Epic Mythology of India*, where it is most fully and systematically classified. The northern mountains are the place of the "assembly of gods" (3, 39, 40). This is "where, on the top of Himavat, they sacrificed of old" (7, 54, 25), for this is the locality "beloved of gods" (3, 37, 39). Seven of these mountains are designated as the several ancient "doors of heaven" (6, 9, 11). One of these, the Vindhya (13, 166, 31), is angry with

¹ *S.B.E.* XV, 272-3; Praçna-Upanishad, I, 9-10. "9. The year indeed is Prajāpati, and there are two paths thereof, the Southern and the Northern. Now those who here believe in sacrifices and pious gifts as work done, gain the moon only as their (future) world and return again. Therefore the Rishis who desire offspring go to the south and that path of the Fathers is matter. 10. But those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence, faith, and knowledge, gain by the northern path Āditya, the sun. This is the home of the spirits, the immortal, free from danger, the highest. From thence they do not return, for it is the end. Thus says the Çloka" (See *Rig-Veda* I, 164, 12).

² Chāndogya-Upanishad, *S.B.E.* I, 134; Maitrāyana-Brahmaṇa-Upanishad, 6, 30, *S.B.E.* XV, 328.

³ Praçna-Upanishad, *ibid.* I, 6.

⁴ Chāndogya-Upanishad, *ibid.* 71.

⁵ Aitareya-Āranyaka, *ibid.* 170.

the sun for refusing to walk the *deasil* around it as men and gods should do around a divine mountain (1, 220, 6). Mt. Meru is also one of the principal divine mountains.

The south is the district of the Manes, the Fathers (7, 17, 37; 8, 77, 44, etc.). The chief Father is Aryaman (6, 34, 29). The path of the Fathers leads to the moon (13, 16, 45), and is connected with the southern or summer course of the sun, the *dakṣiṇāpatha* or *dakṣiṇāyaṇa*. It is a glorious course, for men of action (12, 19, 13), while the northern course is for those who live a life of renunciation or quietism and have no ambition for posterity and a return to life in this world. The south is the path of Aryaman, of acts and ceremonies; the north is the path of Purvavids and Yogins (12, 26, 91), who follow the contemplative life.

In its northern course the sun begins to take pity on man. The northern course belongs to the gods, the southern to the Fathers.

The *Devayāna*, or path of the gods, is beyond and over the mountains of the north, "beyond Kailasa," and it is "a terribly uneven path only wide enough for one." Mt. Kailasa itself is the abode of Kubera, the protector of the world, the lord of treasure and giver of wealth, the guardian of gold. He is the special protecting spirit of the north quarter, where he had been successively preceded by the gods Agni and Soma. He is closely associated with Indra.

Hell is in the south, low down, below the earth.

An interesting passage is where Dhaumya (3, 163, 3 ff.) takes Yudhiṣṭhira by the right hand, looks at the east and says, "This northern district great [Mt.] Meru illuminates, the auspicious, where go those who know Brahman: on it is the seat (*sadman*) of Brahman, and there abides the soul of beings, Prajāpati, creator of all that moves and is immovable." The location of this scene is in the extreme northern quarter. The placing here of Prajāpati, the primitive stuff and energy of the creation, is an idea quite generally pervading Hindu cosmogony.

There is also a trace of the curious conflict for supremacy between north and east, for while in one passage (14, 43, 6 f.) the north is called the lord of directions, in another, almost immediately after, the east is first (14, 44, 13).

Manuals of Sacred Law.—A notable group of works treats of sacred law in a more general form than the Grihya-sūtras. The

earliest are called Dharma-sūtras, such as those of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. Somewhat later are the metrical or *smṛti* codes; the most famous are those of Vishnu and Manu.

In all these texts the same ideas as to orientation prevail, though their generic character forbade the technical details which multiply the orientation material in the Ārauta and Grihya texts and the Brāhmanas. One or two instances from each law book will be sufficient.

In Āpastamba, II, 9, 23 (*S.B.E.* II, 156), two verses from a Purāṇa are quoted: "Those eighty thousand sages who desired offspring passed to the south by Aryaman's road and obtained burial-grounds [*i.e.* = fresh births?]. Those eighty thousand who desired no offspring passed by Aryaman's road to the north and obtained immortality." It is lucky for a student of the Vedas (I, 11, 30, 7) to enter and leave a village by the eastern or the northern gate.¹

In Gautama, 1, 35 (*S.B.E.* II, 178), the Brāhmaṇa student shall purify himself "turning his face towards the east or towards the north." Similar rules for purification are given in Baudhāyana, I, 5, 11 (*S.B.E.* XIV, 165) and in Vasiṣṭha, III, 26 (p. 21). When the student sits down for instruction at the right hand of the teacher (I, 54), he is to turn his face towards the east or the north.

In the Baudhāyana, which is particularly valuable, it is prescribed (I, 7, 1-3) that the sacred fires shall be approached from the north and left in the same manner. The contrary proceeding shall be adopted at sacrifices to the Manes.

It is to be noted that in the code of Vishnu, XXI, 1 (*S.B.E.* VII, 83) there is no option in the direction of purification; it shall be northward.

The best known of all is the code of Manu. Here we find the usual worship of the four quarters recognized: in the east Indra, in the south Yama, in the west Varuna, and in the north Soma. The northern course of the sun is associated with the gods and with light (I, 67) and the southern course with the Manes and

¹ The student "shall eat facing the east, void faeces facing the south, discharge urine facing the north, and wash his feet towards the west" (I, 11, 31, 1). In the Baudhāyana (I, 5, 10, 10) a man is told to void faeces or urine turning his face during the day towards the north and at night towards the south: cf. Vasiṣṭha, VI, 10, and Manu, IV, 50.

darkness. Study of the Veda should be carried on facing east (II, 87). When the student rinses his mouth preparatory to reciting the Veda he faces east or north, and then sits down facing north to recite. Manu here differs from Gautama, who makes it optional to face north or east. But later, in VIII, 87, when the judge calls on witnesses to testify he makes it optional with them to face either north or east. In Manu as in all the other codes the south is always faced in ceremonies connected with the dead (III, 215, 258). The later preference of the east over the north is indicated in the associations of the four castes of the population with the four quarters; the Brahman with the east, the Kṣatriya (nobles) with the north, the Vaiçya (merchants) with the west and the lowest, the Çūdra, with the south. The "unconquered" region, to which the perfect sage goes, is the northeast, —the direction which, as we have seen, came to be considered the most perfect as reconciling and amalgamating the two lucky orientations (VI, 31).

Conclusion.—One reason for giving so many details is that among modern scholars it has been taken too much for granted that eastern orientation, pure and simple, prevailed in India. Evidently this was a misinterpretation. It sprang from the same error that confused writers on Roman orientation: that is, it took a part (earthly orientation) for the whole. The Hindu, apart from the fact that he worshipped gods in all ten quarters, did not have much special orienting westward. The fundamental point in regard to the west is that he did not connect it with death, the after-life, and ill-luck, as the majority of ancient peoples did, from Babylon to Greece and Rome. The Hindu connected only the south with the dead and did so not with a sense of ill-luck, total loss, and sin: on the contrary, he connected it with return to life and with procreation.

In regard to the north and east, it would be rash to propose anything but such suggestions as I have already made in a tentative manner. All that can be said with certainty is that the abode of the gods was in the north, and there was also the heavenly goal of the perfect man. That, in consequence, most ritual ceremonial was directed towards the north, to bring about a union with the divine. The east, being the source of life-giving action of the gods on this world, was the central, focal point for the earth and the constant interaction between divine and human spheres.

It will have become perfectly evident that the Hindu material illustrates to perfection and without shadow of doubt my contention that there were three significant orientations: one for the heavens, one for the earth, and one for the dead.

As for the question whether the Aryans who came into India brought the northern orientation with them or acquired it, I would suggest what seems an obvious explanation of the change from south to north for the abode of their gods, on the supposition that the change actually occurred after their arrival. They came in from the northwest, settling in the Punjab, and for centuries faced an inimical population occupying the whole of the south of India. The south was then the *pars adversa*, the home of the gods of the enemy as well as of their human adversaries. It could hardly remain the goal of their own worship. How natural for them to turn back northward as towards the ancient home of their gods in the days before they had passed the northern mountains of India, which formed the barrier beyond which they could imagine their own tribal gods to be.

Just a word in closing about the later, Buddhist, ideas as to orientation. This is something as to which I would ask for suggestions from Buddhist scholars, for even more than for Brahmanic India there seems to be needed some guiding idea. Strange and unique is the fact that the Buddhist sun-worship seems largely toward the west. In the *Amitāyur-Dhyāna-sūtra*,¹ a mystic meditation on Buddha, the realm of Buddha, the land of Highest Happiness is in the *western* quarter. The meditation on perfection aims at gaining a perception of this western quarter of the setting sun: "Sit down, look to the west and meditate on the sun." This meditation is for those who wish to be born in the western land, the land of Buddha. This Land of Bliss is the subject of another Buddhist Sūtra, the *Sukhāvatī*,² where it is described with florid details.

With this cult of the west seems to go the preëminence of the left over the right. The left side of Buddha is mentioned before his right. The left hand is mentioned as the place of honor, and the right as next in rank.³

¹ *S.B.E.* XLIX, pt. II.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff., especially p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 178.

Is it possible that we have here a unique example of western orientation, with the south-left as lucky?

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ERRATUM

Vol. XXI, p. 329, Fig. 13. For ~~of~~ GRAFFITS read ~~cf.~~ GRAFFITO.